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Dulles arrives with his "good tidings"—but nobody cheered

The roving Secretary got the full treatment on his return from the London Nine-Power Conference—Eisenhower, in an unusual gesture for him, met him personally at Washington's airport; afterwards the entire Cabinet listened to his report on TV's Alka-Seltzer show. The President seems hardly able to wait to look over the blueprint for a possible war Dulles brought back with him.

WAR & PEACE

Peace moves stir people more than Dulles 'miracle'

By Tabitha Petran

TWO weeks before Election Day the Eisenhower Administration celebrated a "diplomatic miracle." In nine-power accords signed in Paris, W. Germany was granted "near-sovereignty," rearmament and inclusion in NATO, with France keeping control for the time being in the disputed Saar. But a note of foreboding and pessimism sounded even in U. S. press comment on this "historic triumph."

Behind the "dancing in the State Dept. corridors" (**Christian Science Monitor,** 10/25) there appeared some recognition—especially by U. S. correspondents abroad—that the Paris decisions put but a flimsy patch on Western conflicts and must sharpen internal strife in all W. European nations.

In fact, if not in the press, the Paris accords were overshadowed by the gathering momentum of the socialist world's initiative for peaceful settlements—and the peoples' (if not the governments') broad and spreading response. On every front of the "cold war" these moves to relax tension were under way.

NEARER TO AGREEMENT: In the UN General Assembly the Western powers and the U. S. S. R. jointly sponsored a resolution on disarmament—the first co-sponsored resolution since 1946. While it was "procedural"—to reconstitute the London subcommittee (U. S., U. S. S. R., Britain, France, Canada) to take up proposals before it—the U. S. S. R.'s Vishinsky pointed out: "There is no procedure not linked to politics." The fact that agreement was reached, to continue joint efforts to reduce arms and ban mass-destruction weapons, was a solid achievement. So were the concrete steps taken to narrow the gap between the Soviet and Anglo-French positions.

The U. S position throughout was somewhat anomalous; it was assumed to be backing the Anglo-French proposals, but this was never stated. U. S. comment based itself primarily on a "working paper" of last spring embodying most elements of the Baruch Plan which the Anglo-French proposals abandoned.

In what UN observers called "one of the most interesting debates in UN history," the West for the first time accepted the principle that arms shall be reduced and specific agreed levels or norms of reduction established. The U. S. S. R. agreed to disarmament by stages, with the atomic ban in the second stage. On the key question of the functions and powers of the control organ to enforce the atomic ban, the Soviet and French positions seemed to be converging: both held that only the Security Council can take punitive measures.

(Continued on Page 6)

SEDITION IN KENTUCKY

Indictments upheld against 6 for aid to Negro friend whose home was bombed

SEDITION indictments against six persons who helped a Negro family find a home were upheld in Louisville, Ky., by Criminal Court Judge L. R. Curtis Oct. 22, and they were ordered to stand trial separately beginning Nov. 16. The six were indicted under the state's 34-year-old sedition law passed during the 1920 nationwide Palmer Raids hysteria. The indictments were handed up Oct. 1 after a three-week "investigation" by the county grand jury of the bombing of the home of Negro veteran Andrew Wade IV. The probe turned into a political witch-hunt of the committee which aided Wade (GUARDIAN, 10/18).

After nearly two weeks in jail, Mary Louise Gilbert, Larue Spiker, and Anne Braden, mother of two pre-school-age children, were released in $10,000 bail each. Vernon Bown, accused of causing the explosion, and his roommate, 79-year-old retired riverboat captain I. O. Ford, were being held in $20,000 bail each. Held in $10,000 bail, Carl Braden, a copy-reader for the Louisville **Courier-Journal,** was released Oct. 22 when his wife posted $2,000 in cash and his mother and friend put up their homes as bond.

VERNON BOWN
Who exploded what?

UNSPECIFIED "OFFENSES": In upholding the indictments, Judge Curtis overruled defense arguments that they were too vague and did not name specific acts. He noted that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court had ruled in the Steve Nelson case that the federal Smith Act supercedes the state's sedition law but said the Pennsylvania case charged sedition against "the government" without naming the Pennsylvania government. The present case, he said, charges offenses against both the federal government and Kentucky.

The specific "offenses" remained a mystery. Commonwealth Atty. A. Scott Hamilton refused to provide a bill of particulars and rejected a defense demand for a list of witnesses the prosecution plans to call.

BAD BOOKS: American Civil Liberties Union lawyer Louis Lusky in a "friend of the court" brief called the sedition law so vague and sweeping that "the entire community" might be "in fear of criminal prosecutions for unorthodox public utterances and having books in their libraries that a grand jury disapproved of." During the grand jury probe the defendants' homes were raided and books confiscated. At the hearing on the indictments Oct. 15 Hamilton questioned Lusky sharply, told reporters he "wanted to find out how they [the ACLU] could come in here and defend those indicted."

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INSTEAD OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY, THE BIG PARTIES TALKED BINGO AND BIRD DOGS

How every progressive can cast 500 votes for peace and jobs

RARELY has so great a national crisis produced so frustrating a ballot.

In most states the great questions of the day—whether there shall be co-existence or death, the Bill of Rights or the Brownell Code, whether we shall endure another depression as the price of peace—all these have been ignored or double-talked; and distractions have been offered like the issues of Bingo or Defense Secy. Wilson's confusion of dogs and men.

The people, seeing through a good deal of it, have responded to the campaign with an unwholesome but understandable apathy. And if it is true that progressives have so far failed to shake that apathy, it is also true that McCarthy's rough riders; the howling racists, north and south; the red-baiters—they too have failed.

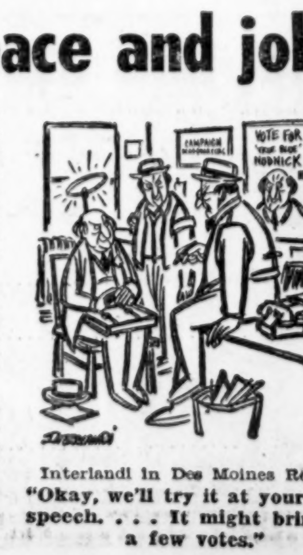
The people are not yet in motion only because they see as yet no place to go. The trade unionist, worried about his job—or his lack of one—puts not his trust in political pie-cards. The farmer, worried about the falling price of hogs and eggs, goes uncertainly to the polls next week, not knowing how to vote for higher farm prices. Men and women, grateful even for the troubled post-Korea peace, grope for a way to vote for a real one.

SOME pollsters say there is a Democratic sweep in the making. If so it is a small, uncertain sweep among a half-hearted minority who trouble to vote at all. If it materializes it will be a landslide of pebbles echoing in a silent canyon. It will be a victory by default. The analysts have found that the people by and large have tagged the Democrats as the war party and the Republicans as the depression party, and in this fateful year the voters in most states must choose which is the greatest danger and vote for the other.

What would happen if a party or a candidate could reach great numbers of Americans and say: "We do not promise peace and plenty but we do offer you a way of saying you want neither a Democratic war nor a Republican depression." How then would America vote?

In a few scattered spots around the country, the question is put and a line open on the ballot for forthright answers. Sometimes the lines are hard to find. The Bingo partisans and the bogeymen-makers have covered it over with placards reading: "Danger—thin ice." The vote on those lines will not even approximate the number of those who look for a way to say some-

(Continued on Page 2)


VOTE FOR 'TRUE BLUE' HODNICK
CAMPAIGN
Interlandi

Interlandi in Des Moines Register
"Okay, we'll try it at your next speech. . . . It might bring in a few votes."

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ELMER BENDINER, Editor of New York Section. TABITHA PETRAN, World Analysis. LAWRENCE EMERY, National Affairs. EUGENE GORDON, Civil Liberties & Negro Affairs. KUMAR GOSHAL, World Affairs. IONE KRAMER, Features for Living. ROBERT JOYCE, Art Editor. ROBERT E. LIGHT, Advertising & Buying Service. GEORGE EVANS, Promotion & Circulation. TIBA G. WILLNER, Los Angeles representative. MALVINA REYNOLDS, 1199 Spruce St., Berkeley, LAndscape 4-4289, San Francisco-Bay Area representative.

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"He serves his country best who strives to make it best."—ROBERT INGERSOLL.

Bingo, peace and you

(Continued from Page 1)

thing clear and simple. But those who want to know how fast the night will end will count those votes first.

IN NEW YORK there is a whole line on the voting machines that can register a vote against war and depression (ALP—Row D). The Independent Progressive Party has offered a way for Californians to speak out. To those who will beat their way through the smog to the IPP ballot, the GUARDIAN shouts its hallelujahs—for each one who votes IPP will count in the balance of world opinion and of history as worth 500 votes of those who say nothing with their ballots—cast perhaps for the right reasons but for the wrong people.

In New York and California there is another issue: whether or not there will survive a political party, independent of the two great political machines which are alike dedicated to defrauding the people of any real expression of their mandate. It is a test of whether the political party of the people, now in its infancy, shall survive a rough winter or die. The GUARDIAN has always held to the belief that no new political party can be born full-grown; it has never doubted that these infants—the American Labor Party in New York, the IPP in California and the Progressive Party organizations wherever they survive—will change as they grow.

But if they perish in this political mid-winter it will be a catastrophe and a new infant will have a tougher life. The first 150,000 votes for Horace Alexander, IPP candidate for California secy. of state, and the first 50,000 for John T. McManus, ALP candidate for governor of New York, will count a hundredfold—for these will mean that the parties will live.

AMERICANS will speak out this November even where there is no independent political party with a full-bodied program. Idahoans will have their say by voting for Glen Taylor for Senator on the Democratic ticket. In the final weeks of the campaign Taylor has been the target of Congressional inquisitions. He has been assailed for his 1948 candidacy on the Progressive Party ticket. He has withstood the attacks and clung to a program of peace, public power and jobs. In Oregon Richard L. Neuberger (Dem.)—a Morse-like liberal—has offered a clear alternative, on the public power question at least, to the GOP's Sen. Guy Cordon.

There are other instances around the country where among the old parties there are choices to be made and the chance to make a clear statement on isolated issues. Where Negro representation can be advanced, where jimcrow in legislatures, schools or housing can be defeated, there will be the chance for people to say something explicit, even on old-party tickets.

In Baltimore, Md., the PP's candidate for Congress from the 3rd CD, Milton Bates, is running on the issue of de-segregating schools. In the 4th Legislative district that issue is taken up by a slate of five Republicans and one Democrat, all pledged to implement the Supreme Court decision.

IN THIS strange November progressives in New York and California have one clear duty—to rally every last person they can reach to vote the ALP and IPP tickets.

Elsewhere progressives must see where a voice can be raised in this election. More important, they must see that on the day after election the proper business of politics begins: the organizing of the people for the things they believe in.

—THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG

How crazy can you get dept.

For the first time since this dept. was inaugurated three years ago, no reader sent in an item considered sufficiently crazy to rate the prize of a year's free subscription.

Cause for guarded optimism?

Cold war on the farm

ERWINNA, PA.

The past week has been a hectic one! I had to put up with both Hazel and Herman. Hazel has unroofed the barn, dropped the highline, leaving the hot wires burning the ground and trees for a couple of days while I had to milk by hand in the dark and carry water in pails again.

Hazel, as you know, is a natural phenomenon. But Herman—that is unnatural! While Hazel was clearing our physical atmosphere, Herman was helping to dirty the political and social air. Last week Herman was in Washington where he gave out a list. A list of 232 names of people in the Lehigh-Delaware Valleys as known communists. And the press here, big and little, has made a field day of it.

My name is on that list—and I feel proud to be on it. For as I look at it, it is a list of as fine a bunch of people as one can find among a lot of good people. This is a list of people who in their way were specially concerned with the welfare and traditions of America and all its people, who espoused many causes, all for the betterment of humanity.

So to make it as short as I can: I want to celebrate tonight and contribute a penny for the thoughts of these good people. A penny for each one to the GUARDIAN ($2.32 enclosed). May they all stand fast and remember they have many friends and much respect in our valley. For when my neighbor's phone rang (a mile away) in the middle of the night and he was asked to drag me to the phone for a "story," I told them I got up too early and worked too late and too hard to have been doing anything wicked. And hung up.

L. Ars

See page 8

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

We wish to congratulate you upon your publication (Oct. 4) of an excellent column from England regarding Lord Russell of Liverpool's Scourge of the Swastika.

We urge expressions of American disapproval of un-British attempts to suppress the book, and of political reprisals against Lord Russell in the form of forcing his resignation as Asst. Judge Advocate General. We also urge publication in the U. S. of this book, so that it may influence disapproval of American militarization and re-nazification of Germany.

Dorothea G. Kienner
Secy., Social Justice Comm.
Community Unitarian Fellowship

We will; it does

MEMPHIS, TENN.

The bill to "outlaw" ideas is a dirty shame to our heritage and has brought thought-control to this nation in its most notorious form—legislation. All I can do is to say, keep fighting for right; hope this $2 helps you do it.

Jim Carlson

Widow's mite

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Enclosed please find the small contribution of $1 for the Belfrage defense. My limited $76 Old Age pension leaves me very little for contributions. I wish very much for his early release from harassment, for his own sake and in the interest of freedom of belief and expression.

Minnie Metz

His kind of dog

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Jobless aid
Is now extended;
Six thousand miles
To Chiang they send it.
He must be
The Bird Dog kind
Charlie Wilson
Has in mind.

Lawrence Gellert

Munkism and bedbugs

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

Reed College of Portland is harboring on its faculty a gent by the name of Frank Munk, who is teaching political science. His sideline is casting stones at "subversive" educators. Currently, his stones are aimed at three Reed colleagues who were cited by the Velde Committee and whose cases are under investigation by the Reed board of trustees. The measure of Mr. Munk can be gleaned from this sentence: "Does academic freedom protect teachers who espouse and propagate communism, fascism or any other totalitarian ideology?"

Were Mr. Munk an authority on political science he would know that equating communism with fascism is as absurd as would be equating the Grand Canyon of Arizona with bread pudding, or equating Chopin's nocturnes with bedbugs. Every literate person knows that communism is an established political economy of one-third of the world; while fascism is nothing more than a festering abscess upon the diseased body of capitalism. There is no such thing as an independent fascist ideology. Fascism denotes a pathologic symptom of capitalism. No brand of fascism exists, or has ever existed, separately and independently of capitalism. Once capitalism is kaput, gents of the type of Frank Munk, Louis F. Budenz, or Sidney Hook shall no longer be able to impersonate professors.

Vincent Noga

Shrinking dollar

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

Kindly print the value of the dollar. Someone told me it is down to 35c. How do you find it? I say the more the dollar goes down, the more will the stock market go up.

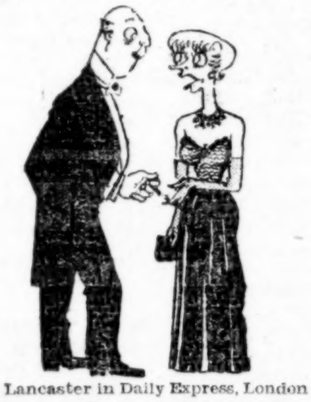
Gabriel Stranberg

Situation in Miami

MIAMI, FLA.

Although I'm about to go to jail myself and in spite of my lack of funds — please send me Belfrage's book.

M. S. Swiont, M. D.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"If we really want to rearm Germany, what's wrong with the old system of forbidding her to do it and looking terribly, terribly surprised when she does?"

Presidential 19th hole

GLENDALE, ARIZ.

Question: Does Eisenhower conceive of his main occupation as golf-player, and the Presidency as a part-time job which affords him the opportunity of flitting about the country to keep up on his golf? What a far cry from the simple integrity and honesty which marked the background from which he sprang.

Harold Fredrich

Whirling dervish

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The economic picture of the U. S. is like an inverted pyramid, spinning upon its apex. Round and round it goes, but nobody knows how and where it will fall.

Harry Fries

That's the spirit!

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

It's been a rough year—unemployment and a youngster with a leg fracture twice since January. I'm a working mother, so there hasn't been any to spare for quite a while. I'll catch up, though, on my pledge just as fast as I'm able. Thank you again for your sanity in this world gone mad.

M. R.

The shell and the deed

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

What is Christianity and who are the Christians? A Harry Truman, who wanted to be sworn in on two copies of the Bible and who ordered the A-bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima? An Eisenhower who makes his well-publicized regular visits to churches and confirms the murder of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg? Dulles, leading Christian layman, policy-maker in the world Protestant movement, friend and co-worker of nazi and fascist—does he mirror Christian ethics?

Or would it be a Dr. Ward, a Rev. Fritchman, a Claude Williams or a Kenneth Leslie with their preachments from the same Jesus who, the Bible says, was done to death by the rulers and priests because he stood up against the Big Lie of his day, and was charged with conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence?

As in every age the leaders of organized religion possess only the shell of empty words, while their countless followers hunger and crave after peace and human brotherhood.

David Grant

Claude Williams' appeal

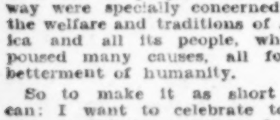
NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Rev. Claude Williams—known to every reader of the GUARDIAN—must appear before church authorities in Michigan, Nov. 8, in an appeal against an order deposing him from the ministry. His defense fund is almost exhausted, and he is planning to defend himself without benefit of counsel.

We feel it is urgent that he have at his side the able counsel who prepared the original brief in his case—not only for Claude's sake but for that of all ministers whose freedom is at stake, and for the whole cause of social justice and prophetic religion. The real issues behind the case are not so much theological as political, instigated by the Jenner and Velde Committees.

Those who would like to help us provide counsel for Claude are invited to send today a contribution of $1 or more, or less, to Religious Freedom Committee, Inc., 110 E. 28th St., N. Y. C. 16.

Janice M. Roberts, Secy.



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"WHERE NO ONE INTERFERES, INTEGRATION WORKS"

Negro college easily solves problems as whites enroll

By **Eugene Gordon**

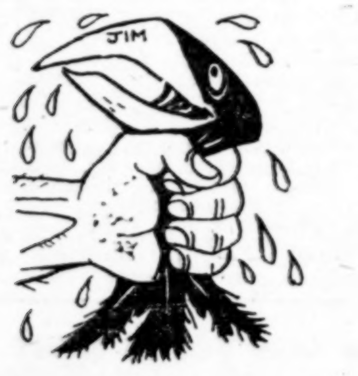
THE WHITE YOUTH was asked why he enrolled at V. Virginia State College (Negro), Institute, W. Va., when he could have had his pick of many white colleges. Didn't he know that white students in Greenbrier and Boone counties were picketing schools newly opened to Negroes?

Yes, he knew. Then had he voluntarily come to State? Was he from the North? He wasn't; neither were the 181 other white students at State. He was born and reared right here in W. Virginia. He selected this Negro college because, in his opinion, the Supreme Court's outlawing of jimcrow public schools implied that segregated colleges too must go; therefore, if he wished, he had a legal right to study at what used to be an all-Negro college.

He wanted to come to this one because it cost as little as $125 a year. Besides, he lived at Mitro, just nine miles away.

BACK TO 1860: The Baltimore **Afro-American** (10/9) recites this incident and gives other facts to prove that "integration works" in communities where nobody interferes. Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Mo., has registered three white students this fall; Fisk, in Nashville, Tenn., last June granted a master's degree to a young white woman from Washington. These white students had voluntarily entered the Negro colleges.

The U. S. government's grants of public lands—specifically, the Morrill Act of 1860—to states for support of agricultural or mechanical arts colleges gave birth to many institutions like W. Virginia State, itself authorized in 1890. Organization of these Land Grant colleges "occurred at the time," says E. Franklin Frazier in his **The Negro in the United States,** "when the inferior status of the Negro in the South was being fixed in law as well as custom." W. Virginia State gives degrees in agriculture, business administration, elementary education, home economics, mechanical arts, music and the technical sciences.



AFTER 64 YEARS: So this little college, born and "raised" all-Negro, still was jimcrow when the young white people—six of the 16 women were married—applied for and were granted admission Sept. 1. Total enrollment is about 980. Known throughout the surrounding hilly farm area as "the colored college that isn't colored any more," State's integration program has brought no interference thus far.

President William J. L. Wallace, indeed, implied there was no "program" of integration. Registrar Daniel Lincoln and his staff were registering Negro students as usual when the white ones began arriving. Surprised, but not showing it, they registered the newcomers as a routine job. Wallace said:

> "We are trying to move normally into this situation without any great upheavals. So far, we have had no problem we've been unable to solve."

Dean James Kelly said the white students had "lost their identity" as such and that, as such, "we don't know they're here." The students had "thought the whole thing through before getting here."

World War II veterans among them had learned in the army to adjust themselves to this kind of situation.

THEY WORK IT OUT: The dean of women, whose students include a former WAC studying under the GI Bill, said the college simply hadn't found any problem. Something of a problem, however, was handed football coach Mark Caldwell when 11 white candidates reported. But again it worked itself out: two white players made first team and two second team.

The Pittsburgh **Courier** (10/16) said:

> "Although the present situation at WVS is setting a pattern for more reluctant states in the South, a picture equally attractive is found at formerly all-white W. Virginia U. at Morgantown. . . . More than 100 Negroes are enrolled in the undergraduate and graduate departments and the public school system is completely integrated, including Negro teachers and the bus system. . . .
>
> "Biggest fault found . . . is the hands-off, buck-passing policy taken by state governmental officials in handling the grade school integration program. The state operates on a county system, with each county having almost full power to operate its educational program. . . . The state found it very easy to wash its hands of the matter and leave the decision of integration up to officials of each county."

"SENSE & CHARITY": This "wait and see" policy—wait and see what the Supreme Court will decree after the Dec. 6 hearing—helped anti-integrationists of Boone and Greenbrier counties early in Sept. to defy the law. The **Courier** quotes Dorothy Thompson's syndicated statement that she hopes the Supreme Court

> ". . . and every American citizen with sense in his head and charity in his heart, especially for the Negroes, will counsel moderation and gradualism, overriding the hasty and all too often self-righteous who want 'to bring the law' against all who disagree with them."

The paper then rejected Miss Thompson's "inert compassion."

BOOKS

Formerly 'smug' GOP editor tells what 'Joe Must Go' campaign has taught him

By **Ione Kramer**

SEN. Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin was delivering his "Twenty Years of Treason" speech over television. Leroy Gore, "thoroughly respectable, conservative, smug Republican" editor of the **Sauk-Prairie Star** and a long-time McCarthy backer, was watching it in a friend's home. "Is Mr. Truman really a traitor " asked the friend's 12-year-old daughter.

"Of course not," replied Gore. "That's just politics."

"What's politics?"

"That's the way we run our government," floundered Gore.

"You mean we run our government with lies?"

That night, after a tussle with his conscience, Gore wrote an editorial calling for the Senator's recall—and the "Joe Must Go" movement was born. Its heartening initial chapter is told in Gore's book.*

FUSS PLUS MUSS: Through Gore's congenial chronicle, the reader participates in the avalanche of volunteering "little people" of Wisconsin; salty editorial-page battles between the **Star** and other Wisconsin weeklies; the Mothers' March on McCarthy and the visit of the ten sound-trucks at Milwaukee's shop gates and Braves' ballpark; the tense moment in the backroom of a Southside Milwaukee restaurant where a roomful of Negro citizens fought and conquered their fears to sign the recall petition. The movement got no support from Democrats, organized Wisconsin labor (though many individual unions helped), or local anti-McCarthyites who felt the recall couldn't be accomplished.

There was the local vigilante "Door for Gore" campaign run by Roman Reuter, "self-confessed 200% American" who runs a restaurant and mink farm. It was backed by the ultra-reactionary "For America" party, received commendations from high-placed national Republicans and noted anti-Semites. From Wisconsin Gore's mail ran 75 to 1 for him and against McCarthy, but he received threatening phone calls, stacks of unprintable mail from out-of-state. On the character of the pro-McCarthyites, which was a revelation to him, Gore writes:

> "If we were recalling Sen. Wiley or even President Eisenhower . . . a great many people would protest that we were making a grave mistake, but they would not threaten to murder us, to kidnap our children, to blow up our newspaper, or even to ship us to the Russian salt mines."

THE MILK QUESTION: The Joe Must Go club got over 400,000 signatures, of which 335,000 notarized names were secured during the sixty days prescribed by the recall law. They needed 403,304 signatures, or 25% of the previous election roll. What th y did get with the "bungling amateurish movement" among widely scattered rural communities was in itself a minor miracle.

Settled by '48-ers fleeing German repression and a good number of Czech freethinkers, Wisconsin was 20 years ago a famous center of American liberalism. Of late the attitude among predominantly rural voters west of the industrial lakeshore area had been one of acceptance of the Republican Party. Gore explains why they got onto their feet:

> "Few Wisconsin farmers have ever seen a Communist. Joe's Commie search is purely academic, so far as [they] are concerned. The price of milk isn't academic. . . . It's getting tougher . . to hide McCarthy's record of failing to vote for most farm legislation behind an army of Communists Joe didn't catch."

NEXT TIME: The campaign, writes Gore, was "surely the most successful failure in history." Another one will be launched right after the New Year, aimed to get a vote on the recall along with the judiciary elections usually held in April. Fewer signatures will be needed, based on this November's vote; 20,000 are ready to circulate petitions, compared with 6,000 last time.

Gore is the first to admit that the first recall movement was "too much of an emotional grassroots thing" and "too much a one-man fight." The next one will be "highly organized," sponsored by top leaders of labor and industry in Wisconsin and elsewhere. Its national aims will be a million or more signatures from other states subscribing to the recall "as a national demonstration . . . that the Senate has a clear mandate from the people to unseat Sen. McCarthy if the people of Wisconsin elect a successor."

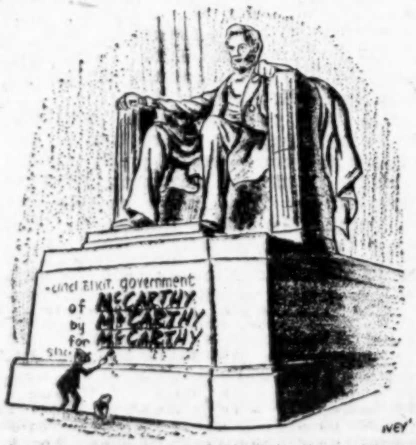
Gore told the GUARDIAN:

> "You don't get rid of McCarthyism just by getting rid of the man, but a blow to McCarthy who is the symbol of it will discourage others like him."

LESSONS LEARNED: McCarthyite corruption runs through every phase of national and state government, he said, citing the morning paper's stories about Owen Lattimore. Asked about Sens. Velde and Jenner, he replied they were "more dangerous and worse than McCarthy himself." He is not of those who think it's o.k. to witch-hunt "as long as you don't do it like Joe." He says McCarthy has destroyed basic freedoms. "That's damning." Period. One of the hardest things in the campaign was to convince people that it's a "complete fallacy" to suspend the 5th Amendment for anybody—"it's in the Constitution to stay."

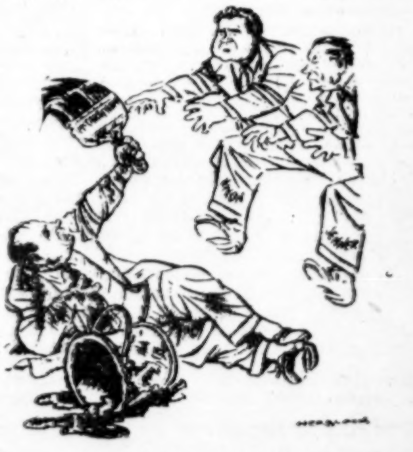
The self-styled "smug" Leroy Gore, who would rather play golf than run a recall movement, has moved into a new world since he opened the hornets' nest last March 15. He has learned that "the labor bosses and the Democrats are not the unsavory characters we have assummed them to be." He has made up his mind, he told the GUARDIAN.

> ". . . to look over the qualifications of a candidate after this, and not to take the word of party leaders. Too many of them are slaves of tradition. The best way to prevent mccarthyism is not to vote for a guy like that in the first place."



St. Petersburg Times

THE REWRITE MAN



Herblock in Washington Post

"CARRY ON, LADS."

*JOE MUST GO, *by Leroy Gore. Julian Messner, New York, 192 pp., $2.95.*

Give This Paper To A Friend Keep It Moving!

LABOR

Weeks, Brownell in backstage moves to shackle U.S. labor with anti-trust laws

By Lawrence Emery

EVER since the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was adopted in 1890, efforts have been made to destroy the U.S. labor movement by making unions subject to criminal penalties as combinations and conspiracies in restraint of trade. Labor considered the battle finally won only in 1941, when the Supreme Court ruled that the combined effect of the Clayton Act (which amended the Sherman Act) and the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act made unions immune from prosecution as trusts.

But last week another round of the old battle was shaping up. Eisenhower's Secy. of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, who behaves as though he thinks he is also the Secy. of Labor, was busily pushing for new legislation to include unions in the scope of the anti-trust statutes. From all public appearances, Weeks had the blessing of Atty. Gen. Brownell in this endeavor.

"ABLE PRACTITIONERS": Some time ago Brownell set up a Natl. Committee to Study the Anti-Trust Laws, praised it as being "composed of 62 very able practitioners in the field of business law." The panel has no labor representation; Secy. Weeks is a member of it, but Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell is not. The committee will meet again next month; its report on changes in the laws and their enforcement is due in December. The **Wall St. Journal** reported (9/29):

> ". . . Mr. Weeks wants the committee to include in its recommendations a new law that would specify union practices to be prohibited, with anti-trust indictment as the penalty for violators. His views are spelled out in a highly confidential, 27-page document. . . . It's significant . . . that for the first time in years the view that the anti-trust laws should apply to labor is being expressed in Administration councils."

The **Journal** quoted the secret Weeks document as giving top importance to

> ". . . the monopoly practices of labor organizations. No one can seriously dispute the fact that . . . the great concentration of economic power in labor organizations results in restraint of trade. Moreover, there is strong evidence that union economic power is growing rather than diminishing, with the prospect that a few years hence this uncurbed power will have greater significance than at present. . . . The fundamental purpose of the anti-trust laws is the protection of the consumer. It follows that if labor union practices adversely affect the interest of consumers there is a valid reason for consideration of these practices within the context of the anti-trust laws."

For **WSJ** this was pleasant reading:

> "We think Secy. Weeks is eminently right. If he is not, the labor unions and their members are entitled to special privileges and the rest of the people are second-class citizens."

COMMERCE SECY. WEEKS . . . LABOR SECY. MITCHELL

In some minds there is confusion over which is which

THE FREUDIAN TYPESETTER: Labor leaders were angered, but scarcely surprised; to most of them, Weeks is an old enemy. A wealthy Boston blueblood, he was born rich, married rich, and has gotten richer as both financier and industrialist. As a long-time wheel in the GOP and past director of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers, he has often called for a program to "make labor unions safe for democracy." When Weeks was appointed to his present post, a typographical error in the U.S. Information Service's announcement made labor leaders laugh, Administration officials blush. Said the Service:

> "Mr. Weeks said that he is happy to be appointed. He will promptly serve all his business connections." What Weeks had said was "sever."

THE MAN WITH THE BALL: The Weeks anti-trust proposal for labor is not the first time he has encroached upon the Dept. of Labor's domain; many labor leaders consider his the dominant voice on labor policies in the Eisenhower administration. **WSJ** explained Weeks' own concept of his job:

> "As Secy. of Commerce he's supposed to represent the business viewpoint even when that viewpoint is in the minority. The Secretary also feels that few subjects are more important to business than labor relations and that, as business' representative, he should have a voice in shaping Administration labor policy."

Some observers saw a Weeks-Mitchell feud developing, especially when Mitchell said for the Labor Dept.:

> "Our position is obvious. We do not believe that the anti-trust laws should be extended to labor unions. The anti-trust laws are designed to handle a corporation problem. We have developed other methods of handling labor relations."

Both Secretaries denied any backstage war, but many labor papers recalled an earlier remark by AFL pres. George Meany that "Mitchell would be as good a Secy. of Labor as Brother Weeks allowed him to be." **Labor's Daily** commented on Oct. 2:

> "On the anti-trust issue, it appears that Mitchell is sitting on the bench and not only is Weeks in the game but he's carrying the ball."

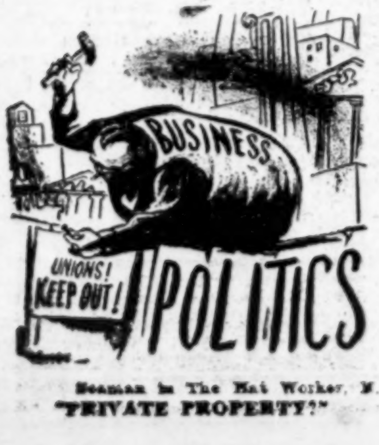
THE UNHEARD VOICE: On Oct. 6 CIO general counsel Arthur J. Goldberg sent Brownell a long letter protesting his study panel's consideration of labor policy, and pointed to the committee's "manifest incompetence to deal fairly with this basic issue" because of its one-sided composition. But he questioned "whether any committee studying our anti-trust laws and anti-trust policy, no matter how constituted, is a proper body to make recommendations as to our national labor policy." He called on Brownell "to issue public instructions making clear that such issues are not within the committee's proper scope."

It was obvious that a letter alone would not head off the Weeks proposals. The CIO News (10/18) reported:

> "Rejection of the CIO protest . . . has been indicated by Atty. Gen. Brownell . . . [He] told a press conference that the 62-member committee, which he named, is 'very able,' and that contrary to the CIO viewpoint it is 'qualified to study all aspects of the anti-trust laws.'"

A subpena for St. Thomas!

> "Capitalism seizes, confiscates, and dries up wealth, i.e., reduces the numbers of those who may enjoy riches, holds up distribution and defies Divine Providence who has given good things for the use of all men. St. Thomas Aquinas says that man must not consider riches as his own property but as common good. This means that communism itself, as an economic system, apart from its philosophy—is not in contradiction with the nature of Christianity as is capitalism.
>
> "Capitalism is intrinsically atheistic.. Capitalism is godless, not by nature of a philosophy which it does not profess, but in practice (which is its only philosophy), by its insatiable greed and avarice, its mighty power, its dominion."
>
> —**Osservatore Romano**, official Vatican paper, quoted in **Catholic Worker**, Oct., 1954.



Seaman in The Hat Worker, N.Y.

"PRIVATE PROPERTY?"

Miami 'contempt' sentences rise to 28; no end yet in sight

IN MIAMI, Fla., 28 persons sentenced to a year in jail for contempt of court were hoping for a State Supreme Court decision this month which would reverse the convictions. The latest group of 14 was sentenced Oct. 8 and 12. They were declared in contempt of Florida's "inform-or-jail" "immunity" law, after refusing to answer an inquisition on their or others' activities before Dade County's witch-hunting grand jury which involved 130 persons since May.

Lucius Cushman, attorney for the first 14 appealing, argued that they should be released from their contempt sentences because if they answered questions before the grand jury on Communist Party membership they might be subject to prosecution. In his opinion Communist Party membership was declared a crime in Florida in 1941. The Amer. Civil Liberties Union filed a "friend of the court" brief also asking the contempt citations be reversed.

A "STRENGTHENED" APPROACH: Even if the Supreme Court does reverse the contempt sentences, the witch-hunts seem destined to go on—at least until more voices are raised in protest. According to Miami News columnist Damon Runyon Jr., who works closely with prosecuting Atty. George Brautigam (GUARDIAN, 9/27), a reversal would "strengthen the prosecutor's legal hand," allow him "an entirely different approach to the problem" by making "mere membership in the Communist Party a crime." The **Miami Herald** wrote (10/9):

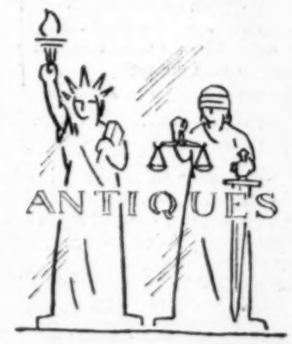
> "Friday's lengthy hearings again failed to reveal the exact purpose of the grand jury investigation—whether it is to link witnesses with a criminal conspiracy or whether it is merely to collect information."

KEEP QUIET: Meanwhile Circuit Court Judge George E. Holt was making it evident that any who came to the defense of a subpenee faced a hard time. When Mrs. Molka Reich Bare charged in court that Holt had prejudged her case by writing her contempt citation the day before she had testified (GUARDIAN, 10/14), the First Unitarian church's Rev. Joseph Barth and Mrs. Helen F. Williams, the church's exec. director, supported her. They filed affidavits saying the judge was prejudiced and asked that he disqualify himself. Barth said he had known Mrs. Bare, a member of his church, for a long time and that she was not a Communist, and "it is the duty of the church and me to help—not forsake—when our members need us." He felt the government had a right to "ferret out subversives," but despised authoritarian methods in any form, including communism.

But Holt ordered Barth and Miss Williams to appear before him in December to show cause why they should not be cited for contempt. Another judge threw Mrs. Bare's petition out of court. Then Holt sentenced Mrs. Bare to a year in jail.

HEIL VELDE: Viewing the Florida happenings as a trial-run for the national immunity law passed by Congress this summer, Miamians were speculating on the basis for the all-inclusiveness of the subpenas, which have reached many who had not engaged in any political activity. Some saw it as an attack on the Jewish Cultural Center in nearby Miami Beach, to which several of the subpenees belong. Nearly all of those subpenaed are Jewish. The Cultural Center was known in jimcrow Florida as a leader in interracial activities: Negro children were invited to its "Kinderschule" affairs, Negro choruses joined the Center's chorus in concerts. The Velde Committee has announced a visit to Miami at Thanksgiving to probe the Center.

While a majority of the 36 known to have been subpenaed since May have stood firm, it has not been without hardship; some, hearing a subpena was forthcoming, have left town to fight in their own way. A young man who is "somewhere in the U.S." trying to raise bail for his wife who has been sentenced, is quoted as saying: "We couldn't afford two bails or legal defenses." Another said it reminded her of her flight from Hitler's Germany years ago. But Miamians in Florida and elsewhere were trying to organize a defense committee to raise funds and call nationwide attention to their test-tube for fascism.



Negro club honors Dr. Oppenheimer

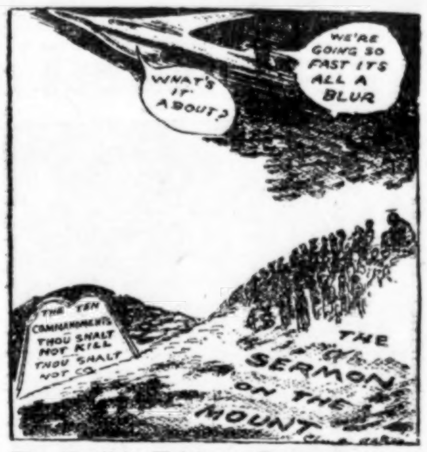
PHILADELPHIA's Pyramid Club, an organization of Negro business and professional men, announced last month that it had "ceased to be a group activity" but now "views its program as a human activity . . . focusing upon . . . concern for the people of the entire human race." To point up that declaration, the club gave an "Achievement Award Dinner" Oct. 21 honoring atomic scientist Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer "for unstinting devotion of his own great gifts to the end of increasing man's knowledge and to the inspiration of many others in pursuit of the same goal."

Oppenheimer said a "sense of community and brotherhood" was imperative if mankind was not to die; "it is not the threat of death that will make us brothers," but

> ". . . we will love one another only in the greatest and most exigent of common undertakings, where co-operation, common purpose and a deep sense of mutual dependence make us brothers indeed."

Dr. Albert Einstein wired the dinner that "age and weakened health" forbade his being present; praised the Pyramid Club for demonstrating that

> ". . . public opinion has at least in part remained independent of the views of an administrative authority. . . . It is only such independence which actually fills the democratic form with living content. Even the best constitution cannot by itself insure the political rights of the citizens: every individual must contribute his independent judgment and his firm resolution to stand by it."


WHAT'S IT ABOUT?
WE'RE GOING SO FAST ITS ALL A BLUR
THE TEN COMMANDMENTS THOU SHALT NOT KILL THOU SHALT NOT CO
THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

The (Baptist) Watchman Examiner.

How UMT was fought in Indiana

With the American Legion plumping for a now-or-never "grassroots" campaign for adoption of Universal Military Training, and government sources promising that UMT under the name National Security Training will get top priority in January, we reprint below the story of real grassroots political action distributed by the Friends (Quakers) Comm. on National Legislation.

WHEN the UMT question was before the country, Rev. Paul Weaver, pastor of the Brethren Church at Huntington, Ind., organized an anti-UMT committee in every one of the 11 counties in the district where Forest Harness was Congressman. These committees were supplied with material and encouraged to see that this question was discussed and acted upon by church, farm and other civic groups, and that letters kept pouring to Representatives and Senators.

When Paul Weaver came to Washington to testify, his Congressman, although not a member of the Armed Services Committee, came and sat with the Committee and asked for the opportunity to introduce him to the committee for his testimony. This, in spite of the fact that the Congressman had been former commander of the Indiana Dept. of the American Legion and had probably made hundreds of speeches since 1918 favoring universal military training.

Weaver encouraged the Ministerial Assn. to sponsor a forum on UMT, and the Natl. Americanism Chairman of the American Legion was secured as advocate and the Chairman of the Natl. Council Against Conscription to oppose UMT in a public meeting at the high school. The Congressman was invited to preside so he would have the benefit of the discussion. A poll was taken of attitudes before and after to measure the shift in opinion through public discussion.

Then as Weaver prepared to come to Washington to lobby against UMT, he wrote his friends and relatives from coast to coast, asking them to write their representatives that they were unable to come in person, but that they were asking him to come in and see their Congressman for them and that they were writing Weaver to that effect. That assured him of an open door and a ready hearing. The cards and letters poured in to Weaver and after a busy two or three weeks, he still had many many notes of introduction that he had not been able to use. And when the vote on recommittal on UMT was taken on March 4, 1952, tallying 236 to 162, every one of the Indiana Congressmen voted to bury the bill.

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DEBATE—"Is Mao's China the Road to Freedom in Asia?" Yes—Bert Cochran, Editor AMERICAN SOCIALIST. No.—Sid Lens, Author, Union Official. Chairman: Kermit Eby. Fri., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. Fine Arts Building. Music Room, 410 S. Michigan. Donation: 50c.

Los Angeles

JOSEPH CLARK SPEAKS. Embassy Auditorium, Sun., Nov. 7, 7:45 p.m., commemorating 37th Anniversary of U.S.S.R. Anne Revere, Dalton Trumbo, Judge Stanley Moffat. American-Russian Songs & Dances. Admission: 50c. Auspices: American Russian Institute.

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General

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AS GUNS AND DOLLARS POUR INTO THE MIDDLE EAST

Hunger for food, freedom sharpen unrest of the people

By Kumar Goshal

(First of two articles on the Middle East)

PRESUMABLY to save them from a Soviet assault, Washington has married what the N. Y. **Times** (9/12) calls a "whole haremful" of Middle East states. The **Times** adds that "the danger of outside attack [appears] remote and theoretical to most Arab governments, which are deeply preoccupied with internal problems." But the U. S. has emerged as the Middle East's dominant power with such developments as the Anglo-Egyptian pact on Suez, in which Washington played a leading role through Ambassador Jefferson Caffery; the flow of U. S. arms to Iraq; and the Iran parliament's ratification of the international oil pact largely engineered by Herbert Hoover Jr.

Meanwhile Pakistan is the latest member of the harem to find itself "deeply preoccupied with internal problems." Its Premier Mohammed Ali, in Washington to get more U. S. guns and dollars, had to fly home to deal with a crisis in which the Cabinet was dismissed, the Constituent Assembly dissolved, the almost-completed constitution scrapped.

DOLLARS FOR DECAY: Iran's parliament (Majlis) was elected last spring under fraud and violence, and is subservient to the former pro-Nazi Fazlollah Zahedi who became Premier in August, 1953, through Washington connivance. On Oct. 21 it overwhelmingly ratified the pact handing control of Iranian oil to a U. S.-dominated group of Western companies. Majlis member Faramarzi commented:

> "When there is only one road ahead of you, you have to take it, good or bad" (**NYT, 10/22**).

Since the overthrow of the Mossadegh government last year there have been widespread discontent and continuous terror. Hundreds have been sent to political concentration camps. With Mossadegh sentenced to three years' solitary confinement, his associate Dr. Hossein Fatemi was condemned to death by a military court; two other Mossadegh associates—one the former deputy speaker of the Majlis—have been sentenced to life imprisonment. Zahedi has arrested over 500, executed 10, army and police officers for "communist espionage."

Although Zahedi has had $93 million in U. S. aid grants, plus a $12 million installment last month toward another $30 million, "reforms still remain largely on paper. Little progress has been made in land reform. . . . No real program of domestic reform is under way" (**Middle Eastern Affairs**, Aug.-Sept.). Mansur Khan, a leader of the powerful Ghashghai tribe which opposes the government, criticized U. S. policy and Ambassador Loy Henderson and said:

> "American blunders are creating a miniature China in Iran. Americans are paying money but they are buying dissatisfaction and resentment because they have identified themselves with a decayed and corrupt regime" (**NYT, 10/4**).

IRAQ "STABILITY": Last April the U. S. signed a military aid agreement with Iraq. On May 10 Arthur Z. Gardiner, politico-economic adviser to the State Dept., told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that U. S. arms shipments to Iraq "and the furnishing of the advice that goes with them" could have the same stabilizing effect in the Middle East as that of the British officers in Jordan's Arab Legion.

A month later the Iraqis elected a new parliament. Compared with the past, the elections were relatively quiet. Only two fatalities were reported in political clashes. Candidates were not permitted to speak before public assemblies; campaigning was confined to newspapers, a score of which were suspended. A third of the candidates were allegedly forced to withdraw.

The Arabs are still hungry

Hundreds of millions of dollars are poured into U. S. "aid" to Moslem countries, but most of it goes into already stuffed pockets: the people don't get enough on payday to buy what they need, and lame economies continue.

NYT's correspondent (6/10) found voters waiting in 100-degree heat outside polling places until their names were called, saw during a ten-minute visit only three admitted. Several election judges resigned in protest against government interference in the balloting. Nevertheless, pro-West Premier Nuri al-Said's party suffered substantial losses.

On Sept. 7 Washington reported preparing "for the first shipment of arms aid to Iraq," together with "a Military Assistance Advisory Group . . . to direct the use of the arms" (**NYT, 9/8**). Nuri scored an overwhelming victory in the Sept. 12 elections.

FESTERING EDEN: Before the House Foreign Affairs Committee last spring both Gardiner and Asst. Secy. of State for Eastern Affairs Henry A. Byroade gave a glowing picture of "a new spirit in Iraq," with Tigris and Euphrates river projects "being financed by use of 70% of the country's oil royalties," and of "a new feeling of friendship toward the U. S." (**NYT, 6/14**). Iraq's oil riches were reported to be recreating Eden in the legendary site of the biblical Garden. **NYT** reported (7/4):

> "The country today offers few glimpses of a new Eden. Its masses live in poverty and ignorance. Much of Baghdad is a festering slum. Illiteracy is estimated . . . as high as 90%. The evidence of tuberculosis and other diseases is shockingly high. While all people have heard of the vast benefits to be derived from oil royalties few have seen any. This is partly because . . . successive governments dominated by ultra-conservative elements have been fearful of the consequences of social change. . . . Neither the grant of arms aid nor the thin-spread $2 million-a-year technical assistance program has won the U. S. any popular support."

MORE $ $, PLEASE: In the blue-gold-green Pharaonic hall of Egypt's parliament the pact was signed last month restoring to Egypt control of the Suez Canal zone. The agreement, to remain in force for seven years, provided for British troops to withdraw within 20 months but to return—presumably with U. S. troops—if any of the Arab states or Turkey is attacked. Two days later Washington announced it would begin "next week" fulfilling its pledge of economic and military aid to Egypt in the event of a Suez agreement.

The Suez pact, promising the departure of occupying foreigners who for 72 years affronted national pride, was a political triumph for Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser; but the problem of feeding the miserably poor Egyptians remained unsolved. In its plans to spend $100 million a year for ten years to develop Egyptian economy, the government is counting heavily on foreign —especially U. S.-aid. Dr. Mohammed Ahmed Selim, secy.-gen. of Egypt's Permanent Council for Developing National Production, said the Council needed about $140 million "from some source to give us a good economic push," and added wistfully:

> "If it was possible for the U. S. to make a grant on that scale, it would vastly improve the borrowing position for financing the rest of the program" (**NYT, 9/8**).

But in September the most optimistic estimate of the amount Egypt might get was $25 million; after the signing of the Suez pact Washington still said U. S. aid would be less than what Egypt wanted. Fulfillment of the economic plan that might give political stability to the Nasser government seemed unlikely. Meanwhile, public reaction to Nasser's pro-U. S. policy was indicated in the government's hasty denial of a pro-Western statement because the Egyptian public (**NYT, 9/4**).

> ". . . was deemed to be unprepared to accept a statement so outspokenly pro-Western and anti-Soviet."

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

PEOPLE ARE PRESSING: To the U. S. S. R.—and to others—the Paris accords on W. German rearmament appeared as a contradiction of the Anglo-French disarmament proposals in UN. Said Vishinsky:

> "It is impossible in the same breath to call for universal reduction of armaments and to carry out the remilitarization of W. Germany. These two points cannot be reconciled."

The British and French governments have been forced to heed public opinion in their own and other countries demanding a ban on atomic-hydrogen war, and to face the reality of an atomic stalemate between East and West. Their apparent aim is to make W. German rearmament an accomplished fact before public opinion can become decisive. As W. German rearmament looms nearer, the demand rises all over W. Europe for talks with Moscow for a common-sense solution. Said **CSM** (10/22):

> "Pressure for another Big Four meeting . . . is mounting . . . coming from London, Paris, Bonn and Moscow. . . . What the French want more than anything else is an end to the cold war with its armaments burdens. . . . In Bonn the pull toward East-West talks is equally strong."

WHEN DO WE TALK? The governments' aim is to divert this demand by suggesting or promising talks with Moscow **after** W. German rearmament. In France, where majority opinion is overwhelmingly against it, the maneuvers of Premier Mendes-France are revealing. During the Assembly debate on the London accords, the Socialists (whom he has invited into his government), the Gaullists and his own Radical Socialists demanded talks with Moscow **before** ratification of the accords. In order to get Assembly approval he was forced to promise "parallel talks" with Moscow with the explicit assurance that these need not wait on ratification.

The N. Y. **World-Telegram**'s Ludwell Denny reported (10/23) "an unwritten U. S.-British-French agreement" to reject Moscow's proposals for a German conference "until ratification seems reasonably assured." To Washington, he said, this means no talks until after ratification; to Mendes-France it means after ratification by the Assembly but before ratification by the Senate.

KONRAD'S "UNHAPPY TASK": In W. Germany "probably more than half the people are opposed to it" (rearmament), including "the powerful Social Democratic Party . . . members of all three government coalition parties and a major portion of the youth" (**CSM**, 10/22). Nearly 700,000 members of W. German trade union youth groups have voted unanimously against rearmament. The N. Y. **Times**' M. S. Handler (10/24) reported "little jubilation" and an "uneasy feeling" in the W. German delegation in Paris. The Bonn government hopes, he said, that the Paris accords "will hold in check" those forces agitating for talks with Moscow, but fears "a sharpening of the struggle within W. Germany." Chancellor Konrad Adenauer is now

> ". . . faced with the extremely difficult and unhappy task of making good his contention that the Soviet government could be prevailed upon to abandon the East Zone only if W. Germany were integrated into a strong Western alliance. This theory

(Continued on Page 7)

OUT OF THE RUBBLE—A NEW NORTH KOREA

Children take precedence: no bitterness, new schools for all

BACK TO SCHOOL AGAIN
Everybody helped, including the kids

By Ida Bachmann
Special to the GUARDIAN

(The author, who was head of the Danish desk of the U.S. Office of War Information in World War II, has just returned from a second visit to N. Korea. Her first, in 1951 with a Women's Intl. Democratic Fedn. delegation, formed the basis of a GUARDIAN series in July and August of 1951.)

KOLDING, DENMARK

UNTIL July 27, 1953, Pyongyang was a shapeless heap of rubble under constant American bombing. Now the capital of N. Korea, which I last visited at the time of Korea's greatest suffering, is taking the shape of a modern city with long, wide boulevards. There is still plenty of ashes and rubble.

N. Korea's three-year plan, which went into effect the moment the armistice was signed in Panmunjom, provides for the children, the sick, the cultural life and production. When we asked the Koreans what this or that new building was, the answer was very often: a school.

Of the countless orphans of the three-year war, thousands are now cared for in private families who lost their own children. Last Sept. 1, new school buildings for all N. Korea's children were opened; everybody helped get them ready for the beginning of the school year. One day I met a crowd of little girls crossing the widest boulevard, each with a school desk on her head—moving to their new school.

NO BITTERNESS: I also visited an orphans' home and a boarding school for older boys whose fathers were killed either by the Japanese during their occupation before 1945 or in the recent war. On both occasions—as on every day during my stay—I witnessed that the clause of N. Korea's constitution promising special attention to children was being carried out. Nobody can live in luxury in a country where almost everything was destroyed up to a year or so ago. But they live in beautiful surroundings, in security and an atmosphere of freedom and mutual confidence with their foster-parents.

I saw many proofs that the orphans, who might easily become victims to hatred and bitterness, were being brought up to an understanding of international friendship. My travel companion was a British Quaker, and when one of the "heroes' sons" at the boarding school was introduced to her, he fell on her neck and wept, asking her to try when she got home to "make the British and Americans understand that peace is necessary." When I saw little children in the orphans' home—some of them invalids for life, with an arm or leg burned away by the napalm bombs from which their mothers, giving their own lives, had tried to save them—I thought that if the kindly American people could see them and know their physical and mental suffering, there would be no more American bombings anywhere.

IT'S ALL FREE: The Kim Ir Sen University in Pyongyang's outskirts has been rebuilt, manned partly by professors who have fled from Seoul. The 3,000 students get free tuition, housing, board and clothes. All schools in N. Korea are free.

The medical college, the foreign languages academy, the polytechnical institute, the school of ballet and the conservatory have all been re-established in Pyongyang, with many teachers' colleges, nursing and technical schools and cultural centers. The most striking building today is the new 800-seat theater, built in eight months in the heart of the city.

LIBERATED WOMEN: With workers in industry and offices guaranteed an eight-hour day, paid holidays, social security and equal pay for equal work, industrial production is rising from month to month. The land distribution, carried out soon after the liberation in 1945, has resulted in an increased agricultural production. Prices have been reduced this year to improve the standard of living.

Women have obtained complete freedom and equality. During the war it was they who carried on production both in agriculture and industry, the former at night for protection against strafing, the latter under ground. From Dec., 1951, till last June the number of women taking part in production has increased 321%. Many women occupy important posts in education, science, medical service, culture, trade; and 69 women are elected to the Supreme People's Assembly, a very large number for a country only nine years removed from feudalism.

FRIENDS PITCHING IN: N. Korea is getting help to rebuild, but not in the profit-making way which reduces the recipients to beggars, dependent on continued economic and military support and political decisions from abroad. Seven divisions of the Chinese volunteers have withdrawn, but an unknown number of workers, engineers, doctors, dentists, nurses, teachers from the other eastern democracies are volunteering in the reconstruction. For one year or two they leave home and family and accept the difficulties and discomfort which must necessarily still prevail in N. Korea, where housing is not included in the present three-year plan. (In the following five-year plan houses will be built, but until then people must live in the small huts they themselves have put up from waste bricks, or wooden frames and clay.)

In no one of these foreigners to whom I spoke did I detect any trace of the condescending attitude toward the Koreans that I have found in some of my own countrymen who have been to S. Korea. Instead they were conscious of their responsibility toward a sister nation which, they said, had been defending the whole socialist world at such great cost.

GARBAGE & SUNLIGHT: I had the opportunity to speak to several people from S. Korea, getting from them a dark picture of unemployment, serfdom, hunger and disease. I asked if anything was being done by the S. Korean authorities for the 50,000 war orphans. They said, laughing bitterly:

> "Yes—they are allowed to sleep under bridges and in caves. They are allowed to go begging in the streets or search for their food in the garbage cans of the Americans."

I asked a S. Korean who had just crossed the heavily-guarded demarcation line: How would the returns be if free elections were held in S. Korea today? The answer was:

> "We live under such conditions that if elections were held, they would not be free. Those who do not vote for Syngman Rhee are doomed. Under his dictatorship free elections are out of the question. He and his small clique are preventing a peaceful unification of our country, the greatest desire of all Koreans."

I was told that no schools are being built in S. Korea, and that the existing schools are only for the rich.

If this information is correct, it is understandable that the highly-desired communication between the two parts of the Korean people is being prevented with all means by the authorities in the South. After a few days in N. Korea, one S. Korean exclaimed to me:

> "I have always marveled at the things I heard about the big strides of the North. But now, when I see it with my own eyes, it is like seeing the morning sun."

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 6)

> of reunification through strength has lost considerable ground with the W. Germans, who have been carefully trained in the past to assess positions of strength quite objectively regardless of their personal feelings about the adversary."

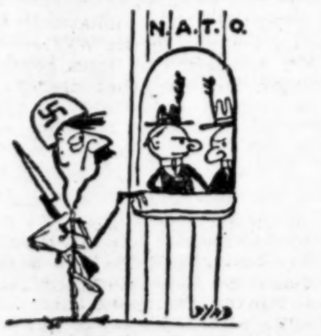
For the Soviet note of Oct. 23—again proposing a conference to unify Germany, withdraw occupation troops and ensure European security—**NYT**'s Harold Callender foresaw a wide response in France, W. Germany and Britain. Government sources in Western capitals were quick to indicate the note would be rejected; but observers recalling the almost two-year-long exchange of notes necessary to produce the Berlin Conference questioned how long the rejection could be made to stick.

NOW IT'S "NOT YET": The rising force of the demand for East-West negotiations was reflected even in the U.S. where "co--existence is still an ugly word" (Joseph C. Harsch, **CSM**, 10/23). Six months ago Washington had a flat No for any suggestion of such talks; today it has been forced into the position of saying: Not yet.

In the 1952 political campaign "liberation," the "rollback," etc. were the order of the day. In 1954 there is silence on these terms. The "Paris triumph" with its "new era" claims will be played up by the GOP, but the accent is almost certain to be on the "peace" it will be said to have insured.

The different tone of the campaign cannot be attributed to any differences among capitalist groups on the issue of war or peace. Reaction's power and privilege in the U.S. today is built squarely on the bipartisan war-preparations policy; reaction cannot afford to change that policy, and will not.

The different tone reflects the basic desire of Americans for peace. But when GOP or Democratic spokesmen talk peace and co-existence while trying to perpetuate the "Soviet aggression" myth, they block the demand for peace.



Drawing by Dyad, London
"You sure he's a Christian Democrat?"

The New Book by CEDRIC BELFRAGE —

All proceeds to the Fight Back against McCarthy's attempt to deport the Guardian's editor

"Seeds of Destruction"

"Fascinating . . . Crucial . . . Brilliant"

— writes **CARL MARZANI**, author of "We Can Be Friends":

- "Seeds of Destruction *is a true documentary of a crucial period in history. I was thoroughly absorbed, and grateful to the self-effacing, brilliant author for giving us at this time a book which is a warning against the re-armament of Germany.*
- *"To put flesh and bones upon historical generalizations—as this book does upon the shift in American foreign policy after President Roosevelt's death—requires knowledge, insight and intelligence. Cedric Belfrage's book on the occupation of Germany puts not only flesh and bones on history but ganglions, capillaries and endocrine glands as well. Here is the incisively detailed, fascinating inside story of how democracy in West Germany was stunted, stifled and all but killed by the occupying powers."*

—**Carl Marzani**

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Four prominent Americans on the subject of

SILAS TIMBERMAN

Howard Fast's New Novel

HOWARD FAST has given us a magnificent novel describing the collapse of an American college community under the twin assaults of fear and reaction. Mr. Fast's talent has never been better demonstrated than in this exciting story, told with sensitive insight and clear characterization. These are never pasteboard puppets moved by a hidden hand of arbitrary circumstances. Tragically, Silas Timberman exists on several hundred university campuses at this very hour.

We see in this novel the destruction of faculty and college officials, students and townspeople by the whirlwind of terror that grips the community. The advocacy of thought, the most cherished treasure of an academic institution, is attacked before our eyes with all of its accompanying results.

It would be a glorious thing if Silas Timberman could be a best seller for six months, and be required reading by college presidents and trustees for the coming year.

The book deserves more than our gratitude and praise; it deserves a record-breaking circulation in the bookstores and libraries of the nation.

REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

READING Silas Timberman has been an experience comparable in intensity to that endured when dear friends are made to suffer from injustice. That the American people as a whole have allowed the persecutions that are in progress to continue and grow, that they haven't risen up in fury and put an end to the current horror of spying and inquisition is due largely to their not knowing the victims. They neither realize their innocence nor share in the indignities they suffer.

Silas Timberman brings the whole thing straight home to the reader. Suddenly, this thing has happened to people that the reader knows and loves. No one could read this book and remain passive to what is happening.

The liberals of America should get behind this book, and see that millions read it. Every publication with a pretense to liberalism should promote it. It should be produced as a movie.

The experience of the Timberman family should be made a living experience in the lives of so many American families that they would move to change the course of history.

My heartfelt contratulations to the author.

ROCKWELL KENT

BECAUSE I am a Negro and have always known struggle, it was difficult at first for me to accept Howard Fast's hero, Professor Silas Timberman. "How can a man be so stupid?" I asked impatiently. But I had read only a few pages in the novel before I knew that whether I liked it or not, Howard Fast was writing truth as clearly and as ruthlessly as Harriet Beecher Stowe depicted the spineless, good-intentioned St. Clair and the inhuman, bestial Simon Legree. The novel moves forward with the grim necessity of a Greek tragedy. You know what the end will be, yet you cannot put the book down.

Howard Fast has written many good books. In all of them, he courageously leads us down Freedom Road. It is however, more difficult, more dangerous to write now of the present than of the past.

Only an American with great faith in his country, its traditions and its noblest ideals could have conceived such a book as Silas Timberman. Only a writer with broad concepts and soaring vision would have carried through the task. Only a human being who loves people, people as they are, and people as they can be, would have cared enough to write Silas Timberman.

If you love America, give Silas Timberman to a friend. My own sincere thanks to a patriotic American, a great writer and a noble man.

SHIRLEY GRAHAM DuBOIS

THOSE of us who have passed through a similar experience recognize in Silas Timberman's story the note of authenticity. Howard Fast has written fine books about the past. This book is about the present. I dare to predict it will prove itself the most useful book he has ever written.

For those among us who are honest, and for those countless perplexed people in other lands who are studying the phenomenon that is contemporary America, Silas Timberman opens the door of understanding.

More than that. In showing the making of a man through his response to the challenge to suffer for principle and the future, the story told so simply, so convincingly, has the cleansing and invigorating effect of a Greek tragedy. May it inspire us all to act!

REV. JOHN HOWARD MELISH

Silas Timberman was published on the 15th of October, by The Blue Heron Press, Inc., 47 W. 63rd St., New York 23. Autographed first editions can still be supplied for those who use the coupon here to order directly from us. Or buy it at your neighborhood bookseller.

The price of Silas Timberman is $3.00.

BLUE HERON PRESS, 47 West 63rd St., New York 23, N. Y.

I am enclosing $ .... for .... copies of Silas Timberman, by Howard Fast, at $3.00 plus 25c for postage and handling.

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BLUE HERON PRESS, Inc.
47 West 63rd Street New York 23, N. Y.

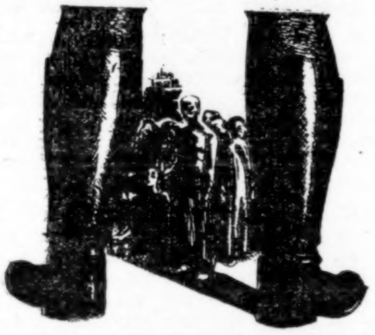
the SPECTATOR

A head of steam

> *Choirs sang in the streets and torchlight processions trod the old city cobblestones most of the night.*
>
> —N. Y. Post (10/21), describing the "hero's reception" given by his home town to released war criminal Gen. Kurt Meyer, former commander of Hitler's Youth Divn.

> *Since the war there have been many books by German officers defending the Nazi war machine. It is as well to read the other side of the story.*
>
> —Publisher's blurb for The Scourge of the Swastika, by Lord Russell of Liverpool. (Philosophical Library, N. Y., 250 pp., $4.50.)

"IT IS AS WELL." Is not that putting it a trifle mildly? But one must be ever so gentle, must one not, in presenting a record of the foulest and most enormous crime in all history, committed only yesterday by our new friends the German Nazis and militarists. When Lord Russell compiled it, he forgot his party manners; he had to quit his job as Asst. Advocate General of the British Forces, to teach him not to tell the truth at the wrong time. He should have considered the war-time counsel of Noel Coward — how prematurely sage of Noel, if then with a note of sarcasm now to be regretted: "Don't let's be beastly to the Germans."



But presented with such delicacy, it is just possible our press might deign to notice the publication of the one book—the only one—recalling history's most enormous crime to the minds of the free world's Christians and surviving Jews. It is possible—but not, of course, probable: for the book is not nice, the pictures of some of the 6,000,000 corpses and bits of corpses piled up like turnips in a farmyard are not nice, and the author is not nice; and the German war criminals are so nice! So nice that, as the N. Y. Post adds under a gay heading, "mass murderers have been released by the droves," and the 200-odd who remain in jail will be home real soon.

12 YEARS THAT WEREN'T: So let us rejoice! Let choirs indeed sing in the streets, here in America too, as we "forget old scores" in our jolly, sporting Western way and sign up with the mass-murderers for that new, streamlined Anti-Comintern Pact! The period from 1933 to 1945 never really happened; all we need recall of it is a couple of quotes for the use of our President and editorial writers, as they hail the London agreement to rearm West Germany as the greatest diplomatic achievement of our time. There was Ribbentrop's comment on the original Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936: "An epochal event . . . a turning-point in the struggle of all nations which love order and civilization . . . a guarantee of peace for all the world." And there was Goebbels in his Voelkische Beobachter: "A dyke of 200 million human beings to protect the peace of the world from Bolshevik destruction."

Forget the rest; forget Dachau, Buchenwald, Belsen, Lidice, the Warsaw Ghetto, Gradour, the Ardennes. Forget the 10,000 human beings too old or too young, too sick or too weak for slavery who were driven every day—including Sundays even while "we" received God's blessing in our hygienic churches—naked into gas chambers at Auschwitz and then incinerated. Bring out the murderers and bring on the choirs! For there are evil men in the East conspiring to establish socialist societies, and the crusade for God and liberty has need of every mass-murderer it can get.

THE TACTLESS RABBI: Sing hosanna, ye editorial writers; and ye book reviewers, wag your pens with due reverence over the "books by German officers defending the Nazi war machine!" Shed no tears, ye reporters, over the 23-year-old American flyer who was killed last month preparing the U. S. fleet's eight-hour demonstration in honor of that man of Christ, Generalissimo Franco! Prepare the way with honeyed adjectives for the Generalissimo's impending visit to our President! Get out your richest robes, ye Cardinals, for High Masses to do him honor!

And ye Jews of high American estate gathered together at air-conditioned luncheons to vow your group fealty to "order and civilization": forget and sing Hallelujah! What if in Poland 50,000 of your faith were left alive out of 3,000,000 who lived there in 1939? Heed not the solitary Rabbi Abraham Feinberg of Toronto, who said to his congregation this last New Year:

> "It would be suicidal to forget the bestiality of German Nazis. . . . The blithe, optimistic, carefree romance of the Western powers with West Germany is a form of self-inflicted blindness which can lead all humanity to an abyss."

THE MISSING UMBRELLA: Remember the new crusade which is a greater thing than past murders. Remember that a piece of paper, on which the mass-murderers will have solemnly pledged not to attack anybody, stands solidly between your surviving brethren and the reconstructed instrument that slaughtered their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters and babies.

Chamberlain had an umbrella as well as a piece of paper—but do not think about that, all ye gallant crusaders. Keep away from Lord Russell's book; it might upset your sleep, and how can the free world be defended by people who do not sleep?

NEW YORK ELECTION EVE QUESTION

Vote ALP for peace and jobs or Republocrat for 'smiles and soap'

By Elmer Bendiner

THE American Labor Party last week was winding up a 30-day campaign in which it had gone on radio and TV in 50 broadcasts and sent its top state candidates to rallies from Brooklyn to Buffalo.

The party exposed issues both major parties had sought to bury like the cold war and renazification of Germany. It agreed with the Democrats that the GOP had ignored the state's mounting jobless and it punctured the Democrats' solution of more war contracts. Where the other parties offered generalities to solve the school crisis, the ALP pinned down the issue to a dollars-and-cents program for school building and teachers' raises. Where there was bipartisan agreement to support the witch-hunt, it called for a return to the Bill of Rights.

TO QUEENS VIA 60TH ST
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TO SOUTH FERRY WHITEHALL ST
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TRANSFER AT

KAREN MORLEY for Lt. Gov.
"May the best woman win"

PROGRAM FOR LABOR: The party's ticket dramatized its position on Negro representation by running attorney Ralph Powe for controller, the only Negro on any top slate. Screen star Karen Morley, the only woman running for lieutenant governor, stumped on street corners for equal pay for women.

The ticket, led by the GUARDIAN's John T. McManus for governor, Powe, Miss Morley and George W. Fish (for attorney general), offered labor not the traditional pre-election pie-in-the-sky nor the pat on the back but a program of a 30-hour week, increased unemployment benefits and a union—not a regimented—waterfront.

In the big-party exchange of scandals the ALP agreed with charges from both sides. The campaign was to end with a rally at Lenox Av. and 126th St., Oct. 30, at 1 p.m., and an election-eve telecast from 9:30-10 p.m. over WPIX.

HEAVY ODDS: The party had two main objectives: to shatter the bipartisan agreement to bury issues, and to survive as a ballot party for which it needs 50,000 votes. To safely guarantee its future it needs far more.

Though the party's voice had reached millions, it was fighting against high-powered, big-party publicity, the red scare and the two-party system. No polls gave a clue to the ALP vote. The result lay in the hands of the door-bell ringers.

The other parties continued down to election eve, slugging it out like a punch-and-judy show. President Eisenhower came to New York on a junket billed as "non-political."

IKE TO RESCUE: He made two speeches, was photographed embracing Ives, toured the city with screaming sirens, waved "non-politically" to people who watched from their windows and posed with workingmen at a housing project.

The President seemed to be answering a fire alarm. GOP candidate Sen. Ives was admittedly desperate. The **Daily News** poll showed him trailing the Democrats' Harriman by close to 9% in the final week. The crowds were thin and unenthusiastic even in GOP strongholds.

He followed what seemed the Dewey tactic of crime-busting but the crimes charged to Harriman were all old, well-reported in the public press: they failed to stir people, even though most were willing to believe them.

NOTHING EVIL: Ives charged that one Harriman company had bribed a judge; another had floated a Silesian mine deal that cost U.S. investors $5 million and involved "doing business with Hitler"; still another, a dairy company, had fired 30 workers "just because they joined a union."

Harriman made no detailed answers but entered a general denial of evil intentions. Thomas J. Murray, chairman of the non-partisan committee of the AFL Building & Construction Trades Council, answered the anti-labor charge in general terms, saying that few men besides Harriman had "accorded the American trade union movement as much recognition."

Worried over the jobless issue, Ives chided labor leaders for their "foolish" attitude toward him "after all I've done for labor." Except for a handful of AFL leaders in the Ives camp, most labor leaders were pledged to Harriman. Union leadership has rarely swept large numbers of the rank-and-file with them in a political cause and many might sit it out this year. But certainly Ives could hope for little from labor.

When Ives supporters heckled Harriman with cries of "Yalta" (Harriman was FDR's assistant at the World War II conference with Stalin at Yalta, U.S.S.R.), he answered with furious red-baiting.

SMILES AND SOAP: Ives had some hopes of slowing down the Democrats in Negro areas. The GOP was basking in the glory of the Supreme Court de-segregation decision and making the most of Ives' co-sponsorship of the Ives-Quinn anti-discrimination legislation. The **Amsterdam News** and the N.Y. **Age** joined the customarily Republican N.Y. edition of the Pittsburgh **Courier** in backing Ives; and Adam Clayton Powell publicly praised Eisenhower's civil rights stand, though in the final week he bowed to party regularity and came out for Harriman.

The Negro voter, like labor's rank-and-file, could scarcely choose on the basis of the big-party debate. The major party candidates, for the most part, made no commitments up to election eve. They stalked the voter in time-honored fashion:

They sought him with thimbles,
they sought him with care,
They pursued him with forks
and hope.
They threatened his life with a
railway share,
They charmed him with smiles
*and soap.**

* The Hunting of the Snark, by Lewis Carroll.

VOTE
ALP
—
ROW
D

Two candidates — two fears
Fear of a GOP depression, with memories of post-Hoover apple-selling, favored Harriman; fear of a Democratic war, with memories of Harry Truman's "police action," favored Ives. The ALP offered a way out of fear.

REPORT TO NEW YORK READERS

Insure those 50,000 ALP votes!

EVERY VOTE of the 50,000 needed by the American Labor Party to survive as a ballot party in New York must be fought for right through Election Day—and at the closing of the polls, also, to make certain that each ALP vote is counted.

Every GUARDIAN reader in New York State owes it to the principle of independent political action—as well as to the whole body politic of the state—to participate in this last-minute drive to assure the ALP's survival.

JOHN T. McMANUS for Gov.
"May the best party live"

We urge you not to wait to be asked, but to volunteer to your nearest ALP club, campaign headquarters or neighbor—with your vote and those of people you can convince, with your energies, with your financial help—to guarantee the fullest final effort for the optimum ALP vote on Nov. 2.

THIS IS A PUBLIC SERVICE (we borrow the phrase from the imprint on every piece of ALP literature, the year 'round), because the ALP is indeed the most vital public service the voters of New York State have, no matter which way they cast their votes.

In each of its campaigns, for all of its 18 years of life, the ALP has assumed the task of providing the factor of integrity. In the concurrent years of FDR in the White House and Fiorello La Guardia in New York City Hall, the ALP's presence in the coalitions around these administrations served as insurance to the voters that campaign promises would have real meaning after elections—and repeatedly, upwards of a half million New Yorkers used the ALP line on the voting-machine to give the ALP the strength to fight for basic issues in these coalitions.

In the ALP's independent years, from '48 on, each of its campaigns has served to force into the political argument the issues both old parties preferred not to talk about—peace, civil rights, full employment without the artificial remedies of war production and millions of men and women drafted or recruited into the armed forces.

THE CURRENT STATE CAMPAIGN, through more than 50 radio and TV programs and hundreds of meetings and rallies all over the state, has forced the issues of world trade, Negro representation, renazification of Germany, UMT, the role of women in state government, unemployment, full parity for farmers, rent and housing, schools, McCarthyism and peace.

Lacking an ALP, which party could you rely on to place these vital concerns on the political agenda of New York State? The question answers itself: preserve and build the ALP NOW—tomorrow may be too late.

—THE EDITORS.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

★ Friday, Nov. 5 — 8:30 ★
A Notable Event!!
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
presents
"A NIGHT IN AFRICA"
with the
CURTISS JAMES
AFRICAN CULTURAL GROUP
•
N.Y. Post says:
"Terrific emotional fireworks!"
•
Starring
CURTISS JAMES
Master of African Dance: recently with Pearl Primus, Asadata Dafora.
FLORETTA DONALT
West Indian-African Folk Singer
ROGER SANDERS
"The Language of Africaa Drums"
•
A Stirring Program of Authentic Tribal Ritual Dances; Folk Songs from Africa, Haiti, Barbados, Trinidad; Drum Rhythms.
•
COMMENTARY BY THE ARTISTS
•
Followed by
SOCIAL DANCING 'TIL 1 A.M.
Free Refreshments
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Place: 206 W. 15th St. Tuition: $1 for each session. Phone: WA 4-5524.

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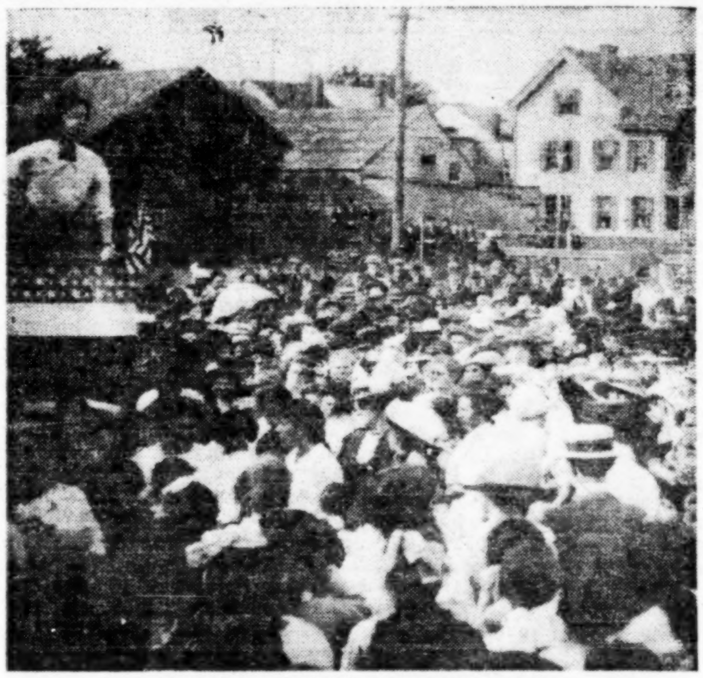

A HALF-CENTURY ON THE STUMP

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, aged 25, speaking to save Joe Hill. Before then—as early as 1906 in Harlem—and ever since, she has spoken for the rights of coal, textile, garment and ore workers, defended political prisoners like "Big Bill" Haywood, Tom Mooney, Eugene V. Debs, Sacco and Vanzetti. Faced with the prospect of being a political prisoner herself as one of the leaders of the Communist Party, Miss Flynn is again speaking on street corners and over the air as a candidate for Congress on the People's Rights Party ticket in the Bronx 24th CD. She has talked to Bronxites on the H-bomb, Sen. McCarthy, Israel, rearming of Germany, the school system, the Smith and McCarran Acts. Despite the knowledge that she is at liberty on $25,000 bail pending a Supreme Court appeal from a three-year sentence under the Smith Act, 4,000 voters in her district signed nomination petitions to put her on the ballot.

YOU'RE INVITED TO A WEEK-END

ALP rallies doorbell ringers, poll watchers to final push

PAUL TRILLING, chairman of the American Labor Party campaign committee, has called on all ALP supporters to devote the last week-end before election day to reaching every ALP enrollee and on Nov. 2 to man the polls.

He urged every member to report to his nearest club over the week-end and at 5:30 a.m. election day. Here is a list of ALP headquarters:

NEW YORK COUNTY: 28 Greenwich Av.; 166 Thompson St.; 29 Columbus Av.; 313 8th Av.; 158 Rivington St.; 82 2nd Av.; 220 W. 80th St.; 93 Av. B; 359 2nd Av.; 2638 B'way; 319 E. 70th St.; 1128 Lex. Av.; 2435 8th Av.; 3110 B'way; 103 W. 110th St.; 1 E. 112th St.; 4046 B'way; 359 W. 38th St.; 77 5th Av.

KINGS COUNTY: 927 Kings Highway; 1361 Coney Island Av.; 299 Atlantic Av.; 959 Flatbush Av.; 327 Rogers Av.; 320 Church Av.; 314 Brighton Beach Av.; 125 Boerum St.; 8603 Bay Parkway; 463 Sheepshead Bay Rd.; 214 Madison; 4222 13th Av.; 1602 Pitkin Av.; 696 Riverdale Av.; 695 Stone Av.

BRONX COUNTY: 724 Gerard Av.; 100 E. 174th St.; 953 Southern Blvd.; 2056 Morris Av.; 3230 Bainbridge Av.; 683 Allerton Av.

QUEENS COUNTY: 32-07 30th Av.; 63-62 Saunders St.; 104-19 Northern Blvd.; 5539 Myrtle Av.

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Les Pine "Sendoff" Program featuring Lloyd Gough, Leon Bibb, Elizabeth Hayes and many others — plus the
FINAL NEW YORK APPEARANCE OF THE ONE AND ONLY LES PINE.
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The Pythian, 135 W. 70th St.
Tickets: $3, $2.30, $1.80, $1.15, at People's Artists, 124 W. 21st St.
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Unveiling of stone in his memory
SUN., OCT. 31 — 2 P.M.
Rose Hill Cemetery, Linden, N. J.
BY AUTO: Rte. 1 or 129 to Linden
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Staged by V. Beebe. Meet the author
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THE WEDDING OF PALO
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CASE OF THE PROFESSOR WITH "WRONG FRIENDS"

Otto Nathan challenges U. S. passport denials

IN recent years hundreds of Americans applying for passports—including distinguished artists, scientists and clergymen—have been tersely turned down by Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, director of the State Dept.'s passport office in Washington. Their travel abroad, she informed them, "would not be in the best interest of the U. S." Since 1952, unorthodox opinions expressed here or abroad or even likely to be expressed abroad, organizational affiliations and other reasons have been added to the rejection slips.

Civil Action No. 3479-54—the case of Otto Nathan v. John Foster Dulles, Secy. of State, Dept. of State, U. S. District Court (D. C.)—is the first frontal attack on the State Dept.'s right to deny a passport to a citizen.

QUESTION ANSWERED: Dr. Nathan, an internationally known economist, was for 12 years an economic adviser to the Weimar Republic government in Germany. In the U. S. he was an adviser to President Hoover's Emergency Comm. on Employment in 1931; held several posts under the New Deal; and has lectured and taught at leading universities. A naturalized citizen since 1939, he traveled abroad in 1939 and again every year from 1945 to 1949 on a U. S. passport.

On Dec. 24, 1952, he applied for a new passport, saying that he planned a brief trip to collect material for a work he was engaged in and to explore outlets for articles on economic subjects in Western Europe. Three months later Mrs. Shipley wrote asking him to state under oath whether he was or ever had been a Communist. Objecting to such a question on principle, Nathan nevertheless sent her the requested affidavit.

LEONARD B. BOUDIN
"The meetings were lawful"

WRONG FRIENDS: There followed more correspondence and "informal hearings" at which—according to the brief submitted by counsel Leonard B. Boudin—Nathan was asked to "explain and justify attendance at lawful public meetings and to identify friends and acquaintances and disclose all discussions he had to them." On one occasion Mrs. Shipley's assistant Ashley Nicholas—according to Nathan's affidavit—said without explanation that he was "too good to be turned down and too bad to be given a passport," and "you have made many friends among many fine people in this country, but you also have many friends on the left."

Last July 8—18½ months after it was filed—Nathan's application was finally rejected.

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES: Citing precedents and previous decisions related to aspects of the case, Nathan's lawyers make these points:

- "Plaintiff (Dr. Nathan) has a constitutional right to travel abroad [which] arises from the broader constitutional right of free movement"; "plaintiff's livelihood depends on such travel [and] interference with this right is consequently a deprivation of plaintiff's property under the Fifth Amendment"; denial of a passport violates the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech, since speaking and writing are the plaintiff's means of livelihood.
- Defendant (the Secy. of State) has no authority to issue passport regulations, including the setting up of a Passport Appeals Board; "the statutes authorize the President, not the Secy. of State, to make rules governing the issuance of passports"; the President's Executive Order established no political conditions for issuance of passports, gave the Secy. of State the right to make not substantive but new procedural regulations (e.g. the size of pictures and the amount of fee to be submitted with passport applications, the length of time the passport would be valid, etc.). The President could not, even if he so wished, have imposed the kind of conditions issued by the Secy. of State for he would then have usurped the legislative power vested in the Congress.
- Congress did pass the Internal Security Act of 1950, Section 6(a) of which denies passports to a single category: members of organizations registered or required by a final order to register under the Act. [But] "to date, no organization is the subject of [such] a final order. . . . We do not concede of course that Congress could have done what defendant has done, or even that the Internal Security Act's ban is lawful. It is sufficient to note that the defendant has imposed restrictions not established by Congress. . . ."
- Plaintiff was denied due process of law in that he "was not presented with precise charges of wrong-doing; not shown the evidence against him; not permitted to examine those who allegedly made allegations against him."

A TEST FOR ALL: Civil Action No. 3479-54 is significant not merely because it contests the State Dept.'s right to deny Nathan a passport, but because it tries to establish every American citizen's right to one as a means of identification and to travel abroad as he might from New York to Chicago.

The Court, recognizing the basic issues involved, has ordered that the case be set down for immediate hearing. Said Dr. Nathan:

> "What has to be decided is not whether the plaintiff was 'good' or 'bad' in State Dept. terminology, but whether the State Dept. has the power to refuse passports to anybody, good or bad."

THE PRESS

Browder, called to 'spy' probe, debunks hoary guilt-by-association racket

EARL BROWDER, gen. secy. of the U. S. Communist Party from 1934 to 1945, has been under government pressure for years, a prize target in the search for informers. He and his Russian-born wife were indicted for perjury in 1952 in connection with statements made in Mrs. Browder's citizenship application; they spent nine days in jail before the $5,000 bail money could be raised. The case against her was dropped because of her serious illness but continued against him.

Last week the government seemed to be turning up the heat under Browder. A special grand jury in Washington, D. C., summoned him for Nov. 3 to testify on "Soviet wartime espionage." The Washington **Post** (10/26) cited FBI reports charging that a "spy ring" operated under Browder's direct control. That "ring" was described originally by informer Elizabeth Bentley whose testimony has so far gone uncorroborated by even the most "co-operative" informers.

To date there has been no indication that Browder has "co-operated" in the way Washington requires, although he has expressed radically changed views on the socialist countries; but his attorney O. John Rogge announced in August that Browder had agreed to testify on the CP's "organizational strength" before the Jenner Committee. Rogge said Browder for the last year had been in touch with Justice Robert Morris, former Jenner Committee counsel, of whose "integrity" and "sincerity" he was convinced.

GRINNING GOPS: Since leaving the CP Browder has found few platforms from which to state his views. From time to time his political development has been indicated by such newspaper items as these:

> March, 1949: Offered in a letter to the CP to testify for the first 11 CP leaders tried in New York, that the CP to his knowledge always repudiated violence.
>
> March 22, 1953: In N.Y. **Herald Tribune** interview said the U. S. S. R. had "given up any pretense of democratic methods," with "satellites merged into police-state patterns. . . . With the war in Korea it became clear that it was an urgent matter to expose the militaristic tendencies of the Soviet Union. . . ."
>
> Oct. 6, 1953: In a N. Y. **Times** interview said the U. S. S. R. was in a "pitiful" condition and was "just as eager to prevent the admission of Communist China to the UN as was the U. S." Described himself as "never a 100% doctrinaire Communist, today not a 100% anti-Communist."

Last month in **I. F. Stone's Weekly** (10/18) he helped expose the fraud of the Truman-Eisenhower "guilt by association" witch-hunts by recalling almost forgotten history about Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and the late Sen. Robert A. Taft. Dewey, he wrote, sought and got CP support in his 1937 campaign for N. Y. County district attorney. Taft willingly appeared as a fellow-speaker with Browder at an American Youth Congress rally in Cleveland in 1938.

While former Sen. Tydings (D-Md.) "was defeated for the Senate by a faked photograph ostensibly showing him in my company" supplied by Sen. McCarthy's aides, real photos were in existence of Dewey arm-in-arm with Communist leader Louis Weinstock (now appealing conviction under the Smith Act) and of Taft and Browder "grinning at each other in a most brotherly fashion."

MILLIONS OF "SUBVERSIVES": Referring to the "guilt" fastened on supporters of defunct groups now on the Atty. General's "subversive list," Browder recalled that the American League for Peace and Democracy had about "five million members with speakers and sponsors . . . like a cross-section from **Who's Who In America**"; that Ernest Hemingway and former Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish spoke with Browder at the League of American Writers' 1937 convention; that the aims of the Committee to Free Earl Browder were endorsed by N. Y. Mayor LaGuardia and GOP Presidential candidate Wendell Willkie, who assailed President Roosevelt for Browder's conviction on a passport technicality.

Browder also included his own view of history: "Events have proved that the Communist Party's break with the policies I had given it was one of the first steps toward the Cold War. . . ." He denied that CP members in his day were subversive but added: ". . . If there was then a minority of a different mind, they had to keep their opinions secret or face expulsion. . . ."

NOT WHAT THEY WANTED: Editor I. F. Stone, in a note accompanying Browder's article, applauded him for his refusal to "co-operate" and urged readers to contribute to his defense fund. Stone wrote:

> "For a hounded man, with no organizational support, treated as a pariah by the Communists and with suspicion by the anti-Communists, it took great courage to write this article. Magazines which would have been happy to buy a different kind of 'memoirs' from Browder turned this down, and he sent it to the **Weekly** in desperation."

In his "Washington Scene" column, **Federated Press** correspondent John B. Stone wrote that Browder's article

> ". . . reduces the whole GOP campaign of 'security risk' tommyrot to absurdity. . . . This subversive list, compiled by the Atty. General alone in his solitary wisdom, has become a weapon by which millions of Americans—many of whom are not any more radical than Dewey or Taft—can be railroaded to jail if and when the administration so desires."

Owosso is in the news again

OWOSSO (Mich.), Sept. 27—Carl Wagner, of Daines, is recovering in Memorial Hospital from three bullet wounds which, he told State Police, were inflicted by a friend who thought they were being attacked by the Russians. He named the friend as Robert Jones.

Early yesterday, after an evening of drinking in Howell, Wagner said, Jones, who was driving Wagner's car, suddenly stopped near Owosso and began to shoot, shouting, "The Russians are after us." Wagner was hit on the head, neck and arm.

Wagner fled to a farm house. His car was found later, abandoned near a cemetery.

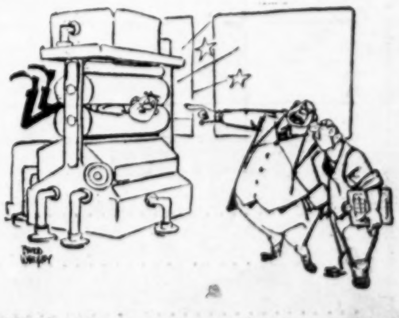
—Detroit News, Sept. 27.

(Owosso made news once before, on Mar. 24, 1902, when Annie, wife of George M. Dewey, gave birth there to Thomas E. Dewey, now Governor of New York.)

ALL WRIGHT

UE 1955
CARTOON CALENDAR
FRED WRIGHT

The Fred Wright cartoon calendar for 1955 is now ready. Order from UE, 11 E. 51st St., N. Y. 22; 25c each, five for $1, $17 per 100.



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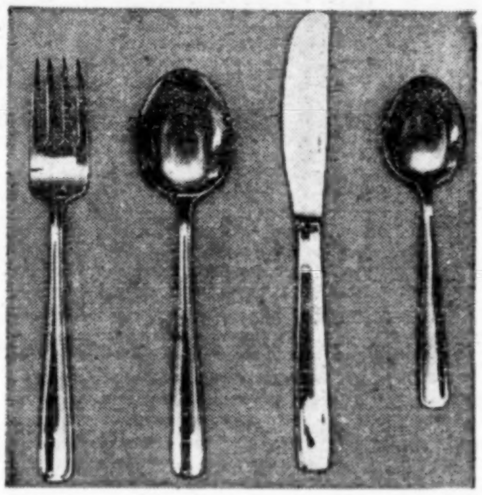

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8 Dinner Forks
8 Salad Forks
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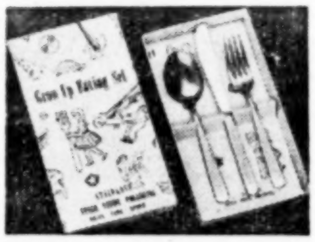
Made of same stainless steel and contours as adult set.



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We are delighted to offer tableware that retains all the advantages of the Scandinavian models and is still priced to suit average incomes. Our designs, crafted in Japan, frankly copy the Scandinavian contours. They are sturdily constructed; all utensils are one-piece steel, solid handles, heavy weight. They require no polishing; simply soak in suds, rinse and dry.

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32 pc. Service for 8 — $16.95 ppd.

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(including postage)

Butter Spreaders	55c ea.
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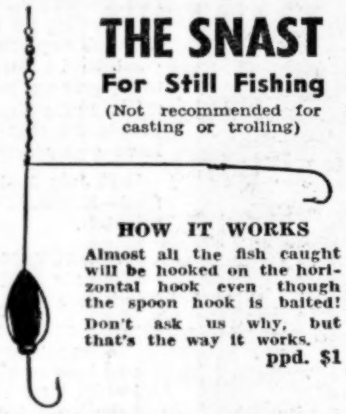
Dinner Forks	55c ea.
Salad Forks	55c ea.
Soup Spoons	55c ea.
Tea Spoons	40c ea.
Serving Spoons	70c ea.

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

If after ordering the tableware, you are dissatisfied with the design or construction or feel we have overstated our case, return the set within ten days and your MONEY WILL BE FULLY REFUNDED.

THE SNAST



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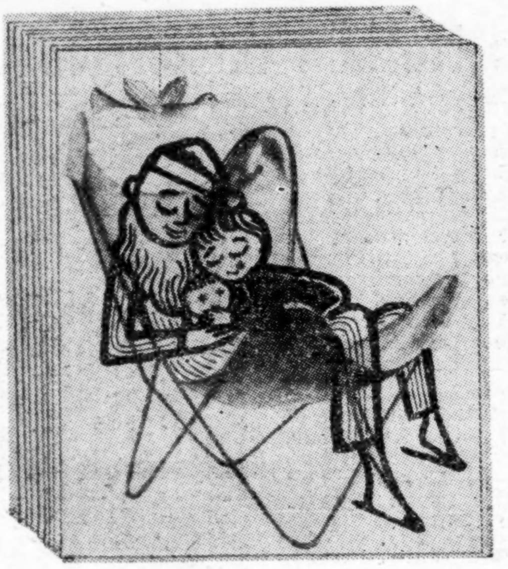


1954-55 GUARDIAN HOLIDAY GREETING CARDS

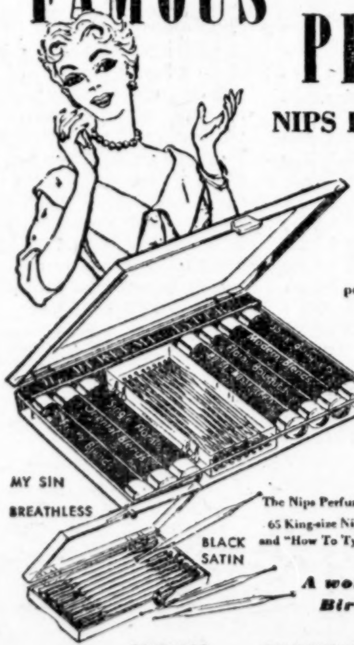
In the past five years Guardian Holiday Greeting Cards have become a tradition. Each year we commission a group of highly talented commercial artists to draw a set of cards expressly for us. There are eight different designs in the set (one is depicted above); each with a peace or humane motif. We have reproduced them in four colors on white vellum stock. Standard four-color cards sell for 25c per card. Nowhere will you find cards better reflecting the true spirit of peace and good will.

SET OF EIGHT CARDS, WITH ENVELOPES .... postpaid $1

* * *

Special Perfume Offer

FAMOUS 65 KING SIZE *Nips* OF PERFUMES



NIPS PERFUME TYPER

OVER $7 WORTH For Only $3.95 ppd.

Never before have so many well-known perfumes been made available in one package. You can test and wear exotic perfumes you have heard about but never worn.

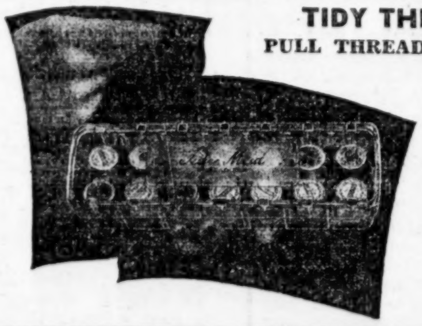
Because these famous perfumes were donated you have the fabulous opportunity of finding the fragrance that's just right for you, for no more than the cost of packaging.

The Nips Perfume Typer is a study kit of perfumes. In addition to 65 King-size Nips are included two books — "McCall's Perfume Guide", and "How To Type" — all packed in a beautiful crystal cigarette case.

A wonderful Gift for Christmas, Birthdays, Hostesses, etc.,

SORTILEGE GOLDEN CHANCE SHINING HOUR MANY OTHERS

TIDY THREAD BOX



PULL THREAD — SNIP IT OFF.

In this handsomely designed box your thread is always available for immediate use. Holds 14 spools of thread, each with an individually sharp stainless steel cutter.

ppd. $1.50

STILL AVAILABLE

TOP-RATED HOUSEWARES AT A SAVING!

Space does not permit us to list all available items each week. However, we still have available the top-rated housewares and appliances previously listed.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE ORDER BLANK

Quantity	Size, Color, Description	Amount
	POSTAGE	
	TOTAL	

Name ....
Address ....
....

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7

(N. Y. C. buyers add 3% Sales Tax)

All Sales Fully Guaranteed. Money Back If Not Satisfie

Full payment must accompany all orders. Make checks, money orders payable to GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE.